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precipitate it into a boiling pot. He also describes the slippery path 764
from which it may fall into a swamp, where a huge crab awaits it 775
(Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 372).

But at last the soul arrives at an underworld in the west, where it is day during our night, and where the forests teem with tapirs, deer, and other game. The souls of the aged become young again and live for the span of a human life. After a second death, the soul turns into a small insect, generally a mosquito or an ant, whose death ends everything; for this reason the *Caingang* never kill these insects (Baldus, 1937 c, p. 49).

WARFARE

A man who has been offended by some member of the community 578
stands in front of his hut and in a loud voice enumerates all his griev- 627
ances, sometimes bursting into a chant. He ends with threats against his enemy who, in the meantime, behaves in the same manner on the other side of the camp. After reciprocal abuses that often last a whole night, the challenger, followed by a group of supporters, advances toward the offender, who is immediately assisted by his own partisans. Both factions, armed with wooden clubs, fight a pitched battle, but are careful not to kill anybody. The sham battles of the *Caingang* have been described by many observers and may well be formalized brawls which have been interpreted as sportive games.

Feuds between *Caingang* groups may develop into regular warfare. 628
When one group engages another, the members of the Kadnyerú moity 726
subdivision always form the first line. The Kamé constitute the second [616]
line and enter the fight as a reserve to take the place of the exhausted Kadnyerú. Battles between related groups are always preceded by exchanges of insults and by other demonstrations of anger. Although [411]
no weapons but cudgels are used, blows are so lustily administered that many are seriously wounded or killed.

Wars against foreign tribes or the Whites were less strictly pat- 726
terned. The *Caingang*, like all Indians, relied mainly on surprise 648
attacks carried on at dawn. After a general discharge of arrows, the warriors, armed with their clubs, rushed against the enemy (Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 49).

Women and children were generally spared and were adopted by 727
the victorious group. They cut off the heads of slain enemies but did not keep them as trophies.

REQUESTS

When a *Caingang* visits another village, he hides in the vicinity until 574
able to announce his presence to some relative. The host receives him 576
with his face covered with a cloth and does not look at his guest until

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574 food is served. If the visitor mentions the death of some relative, the
576 women start to wail (Ambrosetti, 1895, p. 321).

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

534 **Musical instruments.**—Most information on *Caingang* musical instruments comes from Manizer (1934). The trumpets (fig. 59, *f*) have a bell made of a thick section of bamboo and the blow hole on the side, a rare feature in South America. The bell of some trumpets is made of the involucres of the coqueiro or gerivá palm (*Cocos botryophora*) (Teschauer, 1929, p. 348; Debret, 1940, pl. 11).

The clarinets are of the idioglotal type, that is, the tongue is split from the reed mouthpiece. The bell is either a gourd or a cowhorn. The *Caingang* also have an instrument which Izikowitz (1935, p. 254) calls "slit-valve." According to Manizer (1934, p. 312), it consists of a reed tube, closed at one end and crushed at the middle so that it bursts into longitudinal slits.

In playing this instrument, an air current blown through the open end passes out through the slits thereby causing these to vibrate and produce a tone.

Similar instruments were used by the *Bororo* and the *Paressi-Cabishí*.

The *Caingang* are among the few South American Indians who play the nose flute. This flute, about 3 feet (1 m.) long, has two stops at the distal end and one at the proximal end; the blow hole is in the septum of the reed, which has been left in place (fig. 59, *e*). Another flute, reproduced by Izikowitz (1935, p. 299, figs. *a*, *g*) has the same number of stops but is blown sidewise (transverse flute). It is possible that the latter type is also blown with the nose. The specimen is decorated with a basketry cover.

The *Caingang* also play the notched flute (quena) with four stops. They do not seem to have known the panpipes, though Izikowitz (1935, p. 408) attributes it to them on very flimsy evidence. This instrument does not occur in the whole area, and its presence among the *Caingang* would constitute an inexplicable anomaly.

The rhythms of dances and songs are beaten with the gourd rattle and the stamping tube. The handle of the rattle is often trimmed with bark strips and feather tufts; the gourd itself is covered with engraved designs.

593 **Songs.**—The words of songs, generally improvised, refer to events taking place around the singers or allude to past wars, hunting, and other economic activities. Sometimes a singer enumerates his grievances against a fellow tribesman, an action regarded as a challenge. The chants of the *Aweikoma-Caingang* are a succession of meaningless syllables often sung on one note. These Indians seldom sing in unison.

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273 the juice of a fern to "make the beer red," is fermented in wooden troughs from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) long made of tree stumps hollowed out by burning and chopping, then closed at both ends with wax. To accelerate fermentation, the beverage is heated every 3d day with red-hot stones and then covered with pieces of bark.

COMMUNICATION

202 The *Caingang* leave messages in symbolic code for those who will follow the same path. A stick with honey indicates where a bees nest has been found; dolls and sticks represent a feast to which some group is being invited; an inclined stick shows the time of day at which some event took place; feathers scattered on the ground tell of a successful hunting party, etc. (Manizer, 1930, p. 790). Lozano (1873, 1:425) stated that to declare war, the *Guayaná* (i. e., the *Caingang*) stuck an arrow into a tree near a path followed by their enemies.
●[574] A circle of maize cobs on the ground or hanging from a tree was an invitation to a drinking bout.

RELIGION

771 **Religious beliefs.**—The *Aweikoma* conceive the world to be
776 strongly animistic, peopled with ghosts (kuplêng) and spirits (nggi-yũdn) of all sorts who dwell in trees, rocks, mountains, stars, winds, and in large and small animals. To meet a spirit is, as a rule, an ominous event. But spirits may be friendly and appear to a man to offer their aid. Those who are assisted in hunting by a guardian spirit share with it the game which they have killed. A man may even adopt a spirit child and place it in his wife's womb.

825 *Aweikoma-Caingang* share the widespread belief that all animals have "masters," that is to say, spirits that control and protect them. Such spirits are willing to give up some of their kin to satisfy men's needs, but are angered if people destroy them wantonly or if hunters refuse an animal "offered" to them.

756 **Shamanism.**—The *Caingang* shaman consults spirits at night, puffing his pipe until he is surrounded by a cloud of smoke. The spirits talk to him in long whistles and tell him where to find a favorable hunting ground or abundant honey. They may also reveal the outcome of an undertaking involving the band.

755 Shamans are also doctors, but this role is less conspicuous among
757 the *Caingang* than elsewhere and is even absent among the *Caingang* of Palmas and of São Paulo. Among the decadent *Aweikoma-Caingang*, observed by Henry (1941, p. 76), shamans only treated members of their immediate family and did not receive a fee for their cures. The shaman knows many magic remedies, generally herbs, the virtues

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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628 an inevitable retaliation in the slaughter of men, women, and children by Kumbló's family. They stole upon a camp late at night, intending to kill the sleepers with clubs, but suddenly they remembered that the captured children were among them and that in the darkness they might be killed. So they waited until someone rose and stepped out of a house. When his cries aroused the camp the attacking party pursued each individual, killing them, men, women and children, like cornered rats. Those who escaped wandered about, sick and half starved, until they at last met with other members of their family. Since Kumbló's half-brother Wanyekí[5] had by this time become firmly bound to the children of Vomblé and Kanggúin, it did not seem strange to them that they should ask him to go in pursuit of his brother and kill him. Because of some trifling quarrel, however, Wanyekí never undertook the massacre, and before long he died. When his sons grew to manhood their relationship with their father's brother's family had become so obscured that they regarded them as "different people." Kumbló and his children were, to them, simply the murderers of members of their family, and they nursed a desire to kill them all until at last they pursued and slaughtered them. Kumbló and a few of his group escaped, but soon afterward the Brazilians killed Kumbló and the rest of his family, so that their extermination was complete.

Before this happened Patklé's entire line was annihilated, and the story of this massacre, which took place about 1885, is full of refinements of treachery and dissimulation. As the years passed the grandsons of Vomblé, Kanggúin and Mumbégn grew to manhood. There had been a series of intermarriages between the children of Patklé and the grandchildren of his ancient enemy Vomblé, who was now long dead. But Patklé never trusted his in-laws and was forever wandering away and returning. At last Kanyahé,[6] a son of Vomblé, who still remembered the murder of Nduichá, the wounding of his own father, and the whole series of murders and counter murders that had followed them, resolved to kill Patklé and his line. The fact that two of Patklé's daughters were his wives did not deter him. The killing was to be done in traditional Kaingáng style: they were to be invited to a festa, made to drink, and then slaughtered. Although the 628 Kaingáng associate festas with quarreling and murder they never refused ● 504 an invitation to one even though they knew their lives were in danger. One 549 might imagine that at a festa where large sections of the tribe come together to enjoy themselves the bonds of kinship would be renewed and strengthened and old attachments of man for man would draw new warmth from the general good feeling.

Although this was true of some Kaingáng festas they were as often the

[5] See Genealogy I.

[6] Died of old age shortly before the Kaingáng came to the reservation.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941

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scene of violent quarreling and disruption as they were of friendliness and solidarity. The men and women got drunk, and the men boasted to their children of their invulnerability and their deeds of blood. The men "told their *waikayá*," walking about, shaking their clubs or lances, slashing at the air, crying out the deeds they had done and the murders they would yet commit. As the beer and excitement mounted to their heads they turned on their neighbors and quarreled with them because they suspected them of adultery with their wives or because they themselves had had affairs with their neighbors' wives and themselves felt suspected and hated. Courage, daring, suspicion and ferocity were screwed to the sticking-point, and even among friends the atmosphere might become so charged with conflict that half the men would engage in brawls. Kaingáng folklore abounds in tales of festa massacres, and the expression, "Let us make beer for him," has such a sinister connotation that it needs no explanation.

Kanyahé decided to "make beer for Patklé" and his family and sent one of his nephews to invite them. Kanyahé and his group were afraid of Patklé, for his history gave them no reason to trust him. The statement of one of Patklé's daughters made after the death of her father and brothers, that her father wanted to kill Kanyahé's group, showed that Kanyahé had good grounds for fear. With the background of mutual distrust of the characters in this drama, we are in a position to understand their hypocritical behavior.

Kuthúgn [Thunder Storm] came to invite the group of Patklé, and when Yuplú, Patklé's son, saw him, he said, "Who is it?"

K. "It is I!"

Y. "Have you still the name I once knew you by?"

K. "Yes."

Y. "Is it really, then, the truth?"

K. "Yes, it is I."

Then Yuplú caressed Kuthúgn—the very token by which the Kaingáng understand security.

Y. "I have been thinking about you. Whenever someone died I thought of you. Did you think about seeing me, too?"

K. "Yes. I do just that. I have remembered you. I had almost forgotten you, and now, at last, I see you."

Then Yuplú called his wife and told her to give meat to Kuthúgn, a second token of security.

Y. "Kuthúgn, eat this and then talk with me."

When Kuthúgn had eaten, proving by his acceptance of the food that there was no evil in his mind, Yuplú spoke to him again. "Kuthúgn, where is your dog?" Kuthúgn had had a dog that was a fine tapir hunter, and he and Yuplú had hunted together with it.